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829 them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

174 Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives. Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotee*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou*; Lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme*; Lieutenant M'Knight, *Muscheetie*; and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka*; and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

● 245 481 The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send down the fruit, which is then hung together in bunches to a 245 251 cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they

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are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many generations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

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never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with

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The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

276 272 [263] 272 270

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely described by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts among themselves are unknown.

245 674

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

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IMPLEMENTS FOR COLLECTING AND PREPARING BREADFRUIT

413 245 Breadfruit is still the Marquesan staple, and utensils for collecting and preparing it form part of the equipment of every family. These utensils may be divided into two classes, those used in collecting and transporting the fruit, and those used in preparing it for food.

NETS AND CARRYING STICKS

245 286 Breadfruit nets are of two sorts, small picking nets and large carrying nets. The picking net consists of shaft and head.

413 [824] The shaft is a long straight pole of some light wood, usually fau. The head consists of a net woven on a forked stick, one foot to 18 inches long. The fork is tied to the shaft and is bent backward so that it stands almost at right angles to the shaft. The wood of a tough vine is usually used for the fork, the angle being given by bending the wood while green and tying the prongs back to the shaft until the wood dries. Within the fork, which is six to eight inches long, a small net is woven having a depth of eight inches to one foot. Commercial string is used for these nets, replacing the sennit of former times. The mesh of the net is large and the knot is like an European square knot. In use, the picker is lifted until the fruit is enclosed in the net; the stem is then caught in the angle of the fork and broken by a slight twist. The fruit are usually picked one at a time and transferred from the picking net to the carrying net, which is hung in the trees near the picker. The average carrying net is about 18 inches in diameter and three feet deep. This net (Pl. LVII, *A*) is also usually made of commercial cord, although sennit is still used. The top of the net is held open by a hoop made from a sapling about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, which has been steamed in an earth oven until it is pliable, bent until the ends overlap, and the juncture covered with many laps of cord. The net is suspended from the carrying stick by three ropes of twisted bark, woven together in the center to form a loop, the ends of ropes being tied to the hoop at equal intervals. The bottom of the net is finished with a ring about two inches in diameter made from two strands of sennit. About this ring the bottom strands of the net are passed in closely spaced double half hitches.

482 Carrying sticks (for transporting the fruit to the house) are simply poles one and a half to two inches in diameter, cut from the nearest clump of fau. In ancient times, more carefully made carrying sticks are said to have been used; smoothly finished, and with notches at either end protected by a raised flange. No specimens were seen, and it is probable that even then ordinary carrying sticks were nothing more than saplings.

IMPLEMENTS FOR PREPARING BREADFRUIT

252 413 The implements used in preparing breadfruit vary according to whether the fruit is to be made into *ma* and stored, or is to be eaten at once. In *ma* making large numbers of the fruit are gathered and piled up to ripen. The ripening is hastened by piercing each fruit at the stem end with a pointed stick (Pl. LVII, *D*) or with a piece of crushed bamboo. When the bamboo is used, it is broken off at the surface each time, leaving a fragment of the bamboo in the fruit.

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ventional difference in the method of straining the two substances, kava being squeezed with one hand only while coconut milk is wrung out with both hands.) [412 252]

Copra, the dried kernel of the coconut, although not a food, plays an important part in Marquesan domestic economy. The old method of copra making was as follows: 412 245

The ripe nuts were husked and broken into two equal halves by the methods just described. These halves were tied together, back to back, by wisps of the husk left attached to them for the purpose. They were then hung up high enough to be out of the reach of pigs and left until the kernel was partly dry and had begun to separate from the shell. The meat was then removed with a special tool made of *toa* wood.

These tools (Pl. LVI, *D*) have a smoothly tapering handle whose outer end is pointed, and a flat or slightly concave blade which curves upward toward its tip. In length they range from 10 to 14 inches and in blade width from 1½ to 2¼ inches. In modern copra making these wooden knives have been largely replaced by tools having an iron blade of somewhat similar form. [177]

Tree cotton appears to have been introduced into the Marquesas in post-European times and the appliance used to separate the fiber of this tree from the seeds is probably an introduction (Pl. LVI, *F*). There is some uncertainty on this point, however, and it seems well to describe the tool as though it were a Marquesan invention. [248] [177]

The instrument consists of a straight piece of fau wood about 20 inches long and ¾ of an inch in diameter whose lower end is split into four equal parts. Two slivers of bamboo, each about four inches long, are placed in the splits at right angles to each other about two inches above the tip of the shaft and lashed with thin string. The tips of the bamboo and of the splints of the shaft are sharply pointed. To use the implement the lower end is placed in a mass of mixed fiber and seeds and the shaft twirled rapidly back and forth between the palms until a mass of fiber has collected around the points. This clear fiber is then removed and the process repeated until only the seeds remain. It should be remarked that the seeds of tree cotton are not covered with lint and separate from the fiber much more readily than the seeds of the commercial cotton.

MISCELLANEOUS DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

Digging sticks were employed in agriculture, also in digging earth ovens and *ma* pits. They appear to have been simply poles four to five feet long made of some hard wood, *toa*, *kookuu*, and *piapiau* being the species preferred. The shaft was about three inches in diameter and was sharpened at the lower end into a broad flat edge. In view of the close resemblance between Marquesan stilt steps and the foot rests of Maori digging sticks, it seems rather curious that the Marquesans never hit upon this simple improvement. Digging sticks are no longer used in the group, and no information was obtained as to their exact method of use. 412 [824]

Before the introduction of iron, bamboo knives were used for cutting a variety of soft non-fibrous substances. These knives are now obsolete and no specimens were collected.

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of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost entirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry, a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to the family. These trees would provide the child with food as long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil. The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

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245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig